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and

Two Pages of Reports on the F.O.R. National Conference

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

WHEN THIS ARTICLE APPEARS, I shall be on an airplane somewhere between London and Bombay, India. For I am due to spend October-December in the Far East—on a lecture tour of the universities of Hindustan and Pakistan, to use the new names of a divided country. It is obvious that, during this absence from America, I shall be unable to continue my monthly contributions to this paper.

I

I have never been in the Far East. The nearest I have come to it is Egypt, Palestine and Syria, where I saw things strange to Western eyes. But nothing that I beheld in these countries can equal, I imagine, what awaits me in India. I have been told that I shall be shocked, horrified, amazed, mystified, fascinated, deeply touched, profoundly moved, and utterly overwhelmed with wonder and admiration. But I have been all of these in my own country! Humanity is never so different but what it is much the same. In every particular there is the universal. The world is one, its people kindred. What matter unfamiliar costumes, alien tongues, or novel ways of life?

"The stars come nightly to the sky;
The tidal wave comes to the sea;
Nor time, nor space, nor deep, nor high,
Can keep my own away from me."

I shall be at home in India, if only as a witness of events of which I have dreamed for years. Think of seeing a nation of nearly 400,000,000 souls suddenly become free. This matches those few achievements of mankind that are supreme in history. Our own attainment of independence seems picayune beside it. The French Revolution becomes suddenly a passing episode. Here is a fifth of the population of the globe liberated by their own efforts and under their own leaders. It is as though a people had generated an earthquake to shake the cosmos. The world is full of happenings that seem momentous and compete for front page space. But none of them all can compare with the liberation of this eastern nation from chains of bondage.

Then there is the spectacle of constitution making and the whole organization of national life. It is a thousand pities that India is divided. There should have been not only Liberty but Union at this critical hour of the rebirth of a vast civilization and culture. But things being what they are, predominantly because of two centuries of imperial occupation, it was perhaps inevitable that segments of the nation should fly apart. And in the long run it may be well that division, or secession, came earlier rather than later. Here in America we had secession seventy years after independence, and it cost us the greatest and most costly civil war in modern times. India, beginning with secession, will in due course find reunion. As for the constitution making, the world has seen nothing like this since our own Federal Convention which wrote the American Constitution in 1787. Perhaps India will now take unto herself the praise that William Ewart Gladstone bestowed on this Constitution, of "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

A third breath-taking event in India today is the emancipation of the untouchables. This brings immediately to mind the emancipation of the serfs of Russia by Tsar Alexander II in 1861, and the almost simultaneous emancipation of the Negroes by President Lincoln in 1863. But neither of these events, stupendous as they are, had the proportion, the majesty, of this liberation of sixty millions of human beings who have so long subsisted in the lowest depths of misery. That the untouchables are free now, or will be free in any brief period of time, is not to be believed. Emancipation is a gradual and not an instant process. Three generations have passed since Lincoln's Proclamation and the Constitutional Amendment validating it, and the American Negro still struggles for true liberty. So it will be with the untouchables!

II

It is events such as these which make India the center of the world's attention. Here is where the supreme drama of humanity is now being played. The West still follows the ancient way of empire, which leads sooner or later to extinction. Soviet Russia has cast in her destiny with the West. China is going to pieces under the dread impact of a civil war which finds no end. Japan is the beaten and helpless victim of a foolish war. Only India stands forth. This nation has her superstitions, her injustices, her dreadful poverty and exploitation. She is no more perfect than the rest of mankind. But deep down, in the core of her life, is an understanding of the spirit. Like a golden thread through the pattern of her history has run reliance upon the spirit. No corruption has spoiled this absorption in pure being, no perversion betrayed it. And now in Gandhi it appears again, purely, powerfully, the incarnation of a people's life. It is easy to conceive of the rest of the world laid waste, blown to atoms, dead in decay. But not India and her multitudes, who are a world in themselves and fronted toward the future!

I shall come to India as to a shrine, long despoiled, but now made clean again. I shall see the Indians laying sacrifices upon this shrine for their children and for mankind. I shall believe that, under Gandhi's guidance, they are setting their feet in the right path, and that we have but to follow to be saved.

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FELLOWSHIP

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October 1947 — Vol. XIII—No. 9

Subheads

Ain't It the Truth

"Men 17 to 30. Worried about your future? Join the Navy and you'll never have to skimp and save for your old age."

—Advertisement appearing in many newspapers.

Operation Calcutta

(A series of headlines and dispatches taken from the New York Times).

August 11, 1947. "Communal Riots Flare in India."

August 13. "Calcutta—In three days last week 27 persons were killed and more than 140 injured in communal clashes, shootings, and bomb attacks. . . ."

August 25. "The remarkable peace and fraternization between Hindus and Moslems in Calcutta, which began when Mohandas K. Gandhi took up residence in a Calcutta Moslem neighborhood on August 13, continued to be the wonder of India."

August 25. "Efforts of government officials both in India and Pakistan to abate (by imprisonment, guns and threat of death) the abuse of religious minorities cannot, on the record, be called successful as yet."

September 2. "Indian riots flare again in Calcutta; peace 'bubble' burst; 29 dead, 292 are injured—Gandhi begins a protest fast at 8:15 p.m. local time today."

September 4. "It is quite clear that in the past two weeks more persons have been killed in India every day than in all the countries that the U.N. is scrutinizing. . . . The situation in Calcutta where 78-year-old Mohandas K. Gandhi is fasting to put an end to the carnage, was reported quieter today. Mr. Gandhi's fast is a matter of supreme concern. . . ."

September 5. "Karachi, capital of Pakistan—Military and civil authorities said they had taken all measures to meet an emergency and that police would not hesitate to open fire if the situation deteriorated."

"New Delhi—The government reported at least 8 persons were killed and nearly 50 wounded today in flare-ups of communal rioting."

"Calcutta—The situation in Calcutta where M. K. Gandhi ended his 3-day fast, designed to halt disorders, was reported quiet since late last night. Mr. Gandhi's physician said he was resting well and was cheerful, but weaker."

September 6. "Mountbatten acts on strife in India; cancels tours after parley with Nehru—88 reported slain in New Delhi riots."

"Calcutta—Streams of young men, Moslems as well as Hindus, made their way to the camp of Mohandas K. Gandhi today to surrender to him as an apostle of peace, the guns, swords and ammunition they had used in riots. They promised never to use arms again against their fellow Indians. . . . The city was quiet today."

September 7. "New Delhi—Burned and lacerated bodies in neat rows covered half the courtyard of the Delhi city morgue this afternoon. This was part of the toll of the past two days' communal rioting in this city and the surrounding villages."

"Calcutta—Mohandas K. Gandhi, who broke a seventy-three-hour fast Thursday night after he had been assured that there would be no more rioting in Calcutta, was scheduled to leave for the Punjab tomorrow on a 'peace mission.'"

Germs

The August *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* an outgrowth of the fast-vanishing period when the scientists were shocked out of their scientific amorality, tossed a bone to its colleagues, the biologists, in the form of a gripping little article on biological warfare. It concerned itself admiringly with the way in which the biologists have solved the problem of diagnosis, which threatened their plans to help the next war effort along by spreading plague among the enemy's people and livestock.

Obviously, much of the success of these patriotic efforts would be endangered if enemy physicians and biologists were to launch effective medical and other treatment in the infected areas. With typical scientific ingenuity the biologists have found a way out of this dilemma by introducing mutations in the various

diseases that will produce different symptoms and thus baffle the enemy's diagnostic experts. Clever, huh?

Button, Button. . . .

Anyway, you can stop worrying about push-button war for a while. According to the Alsop brothers,* who look into things like that, the full-fledged push-button variety of mutual extermination is probably as much as ten to eighteen years away. In the meantime we'll just have to struggle along with the old-fashioned use of planes for dropping atomic bombs and disease germs on each other.

By the end of a decade or so, though, we'll really see something, according to the Alsops. Missiles weighing perhaps hundreds of tons, with several tons of atomic explosive or disease germs in their warheads, will take off into the ionosphere, travel in an hour 5,000 miles, and plunk accurately down on whatever city its directing geniuses have planned to wipe out. By then, say the brothers, "a single nation can blanket with this fire the whole temperate zone of the earth."

The only thing that might stand in the way of these fascinating developments—aside from the improbable establishment of sanity on a world scale—would be the pigheaded refusal of the American people and Congress to finance them, and both the big brass and their kept scientists worry about this considerably. Wind tunnels, for instance, for testing models of supersonic missiles, will cost a minimum of $1,200,000,000 without maintenance. Test models of guided missiles cost from $6,000,000 to $7,000,000 each, and it is pointed out that the Germans had to make 1500 test firings of the V-2 rocket alone. And a multitude of other expenses will be on a similar scale.

But the results!—they will be wonderful. For the first time in history man may be able to annihilate himself utterly in twenty-four hours!

Pacifism in Strange Places Dep't.

"No Annie! No man is *all* bad—and *hating* even an *evil* man merely lowers you toward his level—and puts *you* at a disadvantage."

—From the comic strip "Little Orphan Annie," August 17, 1947.

"You'll never find peace in any doctrine that preaches violence to prove its point."

—From an advertisement of the Nash-Kelvinator Corp., August 14, 1947.

Rental

The National Guard of the District of Columbia has agreed to turn over its armory to George Washington University for its homecoming dance November 1 for a rental price of 500 recruits, which the students have agreed to deliver by December 1. If by any chance the University cannot produce the full 500, the price for the hall will be $900.

As a new type of currency the idea has all kinds of possibilities. We can see the Army Engineers agreeing to deepen the harbor of Portland, Oregon, for example, if that city will leave 22,000 18-year-olds outside the gates as a down payment. Or perhaps the Coast Guard will flatly refuse to man a lighthouse or patrol boat until ocean and lakeside residents promise to pay on demand of bearer 63,000 specimens of young manhood, in good condition and without conscientious flaws.

The National Guard contract did not stipulate how the 500 were to be delivered, apparently leaving that up to the students. We have our own picture of them, though, marching in lock-step under the whips of their overseers down to the docks, there to be packed in a filthy hold for transportation to some National Guard plantation far away.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The American Legion had its annual convention in New York City during the last week in August, and lived down to all expectations.

* * *

Maj. Gen. William E. Kepner, of the Air Training Command, has advocated as one "defense" for the United States that we "hit the other fellow first." This would carry out the good old American tradition established by such fellows as Hitler, Hirohito, and Genghis Khan.

* * *

The NAM, sensitive about references to its jolly predictions of lower prices resulting from the scuttling of OPA, remarks plaintively that we cannot solve our present problems by "name-calling and finger-pointing." The ban is not expected to apply, however, to names like "Communist" or to fingers pointed at labor unions seeking raises.

* * *

Almost 7,000 CARE packages sent to Greece have not been distributed. Two of the reasons advanced by a Greek official were that merchants and importers have exerted pressure to halt duty-free imports that "compete" with their own goods, and that the government loses revenue on duty-free relief packages.

* * *

Huge caverns are being dug in a mountain range in New Mexico as superdefenses against World War III, according to the *Denver Post*.

* * *

The President of Paraguay, before leaving rebel-besieged Asuncion for a safer place during the recent civil war, exhorted the inhabitants to make a last-ditch stand and drive the rebels out.

* * *

Paraguay has granted an amnesty to all enlisted men and football players involved in the recent revolution.

* * *

The Legion convention turned thumbs down on Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill; called for UMT; and opposed admission of DP's to the United States. No runs, no hits, three errors.

* "Are We Ready for a Push-Button War?" by Joseph and Stewart Alsop, *Saturday Evening Post*, September 6, 1947.

Arnold Toynbee: Christian Historian

By ALBERT D. FOWLER

Except the Lord build the house,
their labour is but lost that build it.
Except the Lord keep the city,
the watchman waketh but in vain.
Ps. cxxvii. 1-2

(Inscription on the title page of the last three volumes of *A Study of History*).

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORIAN'S CONCEPT of history is that it started somewhere in the past as a spiritual response to the urge or challenge of God and that it is moving toward the goal of the Kingdom of Heaven. The academic historian's concept of history is that it is motion of men and intermovement of men with their fellows, beginning we know not where and going we know not whither. Such a concept of history may be called futilitarian because it records the course of movement without aim or purpose. The philosophic historian Spengler, though differing from the academic in that he discovers a pattern in history, is futilitarian in that his pattern has no goal, moving endlessly and aimlessly from birth, growth, decay, death, to birth again, circle after circle, and satisfying the educated only so long as they believe they move in the best circles.

Man A Spiritual Being

Arnold Toynbee as a Christian historian rejects these futilitarian concepts. He holds fast to the belief that man is a spiritual being created by God with the freedom either to love God and strive for the Kingdom or to reject God's love and choose instead a hell of man's own making. History for Toynbee is the record of man's choice between these two desires, and the central figure on the stage is always the individual. There seems never to be a point in the history of any group where the creative choice is not still open. Civilizations do not die of natural causes such as old age; they are not killed by outside forces; if they die, Toynbee holds that their deaths are the result of choice. They commit suicide.

It is significant that *Time* magazine recently interpreted this part of Toynbee's contribution to historical thought in the following terms:

> He shattered the frozen patterns of historical determinism and materialism by again asserting God as an active force in history. His assertion, implicit throughout the 3,488 pages of *A Study of History*, implied another: the goal of history, however dimly sensed in human terms, is the Kingdom of God. That aspiration redeems history from being a futile tragedy of blood.

Against the bleak situation we now face after two world wars and talk of a third to come, Toynbee's break with materialism, his belief in a spiritual goal for mankind, and his declaration that the ultimate responsibility resides in the individual, have caught the imagination of many people.

Toynbee sees little prospect of solving the problems of nationalism and war in purely political ways, but finds a basis for hope in an area beyond politics. Even though we have been for a number of generations living on spiritual capital, clinging to Christian practice without possessing the Christian belief, there is still, he believes, a possibility of a revival of Christianity. In his words,

> We may yet live to see a civilization which has tried and failed to stand alone, being saved, in spite of itself, from a fatal fall by being caught in the arms of an ancestral church which it has vainly striven to push away and keep at arm's length.

Can Save the Individual

If this hope fails, if Christianity cannot save western civilization, it can save the individual in that society. Toward the end of the last of his six volumes he says:

> We have now gained a glimpse of an alternative way of life . . . and this happy issue out of our afflictions is to be found in enrolling ourselves as citizens of a *Civitas Dei* of which Christ Crucified is king. . . . The member of a disintegrating society who has taken this road has a surer hope, and therefore a deeper happiness, than the merely "once-born" member of a mundane society that is still in growth.

During the long course of writing his six volumes, Toynbee's spiritual convictions have deepened. He began his work in 1922 only a few years after the First World War; it was his response to a disordered civilization, an attempt to achieve order out of disintegration. And as the First World War led inevitably to the Second, his search for order found greater rewards inside the temple than outside of it. He abandoned the conception of religion as a sort of egg-grub-chrysalis between the butterflies of two civilizations, for a new thesis that sees civilizations as the handmaids of religion. In May, 1940, in his notable Burge Memorial Lecture at Oxford, Toynbee told his audience:

> If religion is a chariot, it looks as if the wheels on which it mounts toward Heaven may be the periodic downfalls of civilizations on Earth. It looks as if the movement of civilization may be cyclic and recurrent, while the movement of religion may be on a single continuous upward line. The continuous upward movement of religion may be served and promoted by the cyclic movement of civilizations round the cycle of birth—death—birth.

If this is true—if it is civilization that is the means and religion the end—then once again a civilization like our own may break down but spiritual progress continue, not only in spite of the downfall but because of it as well.

This does not mean that Toynbee believes that our civilization necessarily is doomed. He refuses to be caught in any mechanical patterns for the lives of civilizations, as Spengler was. For religious reasons he declines to recognize any necessity in the recurrence

of historical sequences; these can be changed for the better at any time or in any place, he insists, by a state of grace, a rebirth in humility of the kind that would characterize a communion of saints. As with the individual so with society: up till the very moment of death there is always the opportunity for salvation.

It is in the worship of Leviathan, the self-worship of the tribe, that Toynbee finds the Western world has lost its way. Communism is another of our latter-day religions, and Toynbee believes it is a leaf taken from the book of Christianity, "a leaf torn out and misread." Democracy is for him another leaf from the same book, which he fears has been torn out and, while perhaps not misread, has certainly been half emptied of meaning by being divorced from its Christian context.

In the Burge Memorial Lecture Toynbee discussed what he considers the highest potentiality and aim of the human soul—ever closer communion with God. Nor does this contradict Aristotle's definition of man as a "social animal," declares Toynbee, since seeking God is itself a social act. There can be no antithesis between trying to save one's own soul by seeking and following God and trying to do one's duty to one's neighbor: the two activities are inseparable. The human soul that is truly seeking to save itself is as fully social a being as the ant-like Spartan or the bee-like Communist. The difference is that the Christian soul on this earth is not a member of a society like Sparta or Leviathan; he is a citizen of the Kingdom of God and therefore his paramount and all-embracing purpose is to attain the highest degree of communion with, and likeness to, God Himself.

It follows that his relations with his fellow men are consequences of and corollaries to his relations with God, and his way of loving his neighbor as himself will be to help his neighbor win what he seeks for himself: closer communion with God and closer approximation to the godlike. For, says Toynbee,

> If this is a soul's recognized aim for itself and for its fellow souls in the Christian Church Militant on Earth, then it is obvious that under a Christian dispensation God's will *will* be done on Earth as it is in Heaven to an immeasurably greater degree than in a secular mundane society. It is also evident that, in the Church Militant on Earth, the good social aims of the mundane societies will incidentally be achieved very much more successfully than they ever have been or can be achieved in a mundane society which aims at these objects direct, and at nothing higher. In other words, the spiritual progress of individual souls in this life will in fact bring with it much more social progress than could be attained in any other way. It is a paradoxical but profoundly true and important principle of life that the most likely way to reach a goal is to be aiming not at that goal itself but at some more ambitious goal beyond it. This is the meaning of the parable in the Old Testament of Solomon's Choice and of the saying in the New Testament about losing one's life and saving it.

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The Fellowship in Latin America

The Second of Two Articles

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

IN LATIN AMERICA, as in the United States, the Fellowship must look to the churches as the most important source of new members and of support. Consequently, if we are to be of real assistance to the cause of pacifism in Latin America, we must consider our relationship to the churches there, Protestant and Catholic alike.

Let us take the Protestants first. There are about two million of them and Christian pacifism, although new or unheard-of to most, has gotten started in the major denominations and is growing well. Almost the whole strength of the FOR, at present, is in these circles. They opened their doors to us and we went in. Perhaps 90 percent of the meetings were held under Evangelical auspices. I have lectured or preached in the Union Theological Seminaries at Mexico City, Buenos Aires and San Juan, and in the Union Language School at Medellin, Colombia. Two Methodist Bishops, a Protestant Episcopal Bishop and some of the ablest clergy and lay leaders in South America are FOR members. Furthermore, the Evangelical youth movements are strongly pacifist in several countries, especially Argentina. We can rejoice that the pacifist view of life bids fair to become integrated into indigenous Latin American Protestantism. However, this pacifism has not yet had a baptism of fire and I would say that there is no more immediately important task for the Fellowship than to undergird it with biblical, theological and intellectual interpretation and with the "cell" life of prayer, comradeship and specific action.

Much more difficult for us is the recommendation of pacifist Christianity in the Roman Catholic Church. It is hard not only because of Roman attitudes but also because we are the way we are. The FOR got started in a Protestant *milieu;* our idea of authority, our literature, leaders, membership and worship are overwhelmingly Protestant. Although almost from the moment when the Fellowship got started on the continent of Europe in 1919 efforts have been made to enlist Roman Catholic cooperation, the net result today is disappointingly small. Experience might seem to indicate that the FOR should recognize the limitations of its Protestant heritage and, working within them, concentrate full force on the job of convincing the great Evangelical bodies that only by a firm espousal of Christian pacifism can they hope to save Church and society

in the atomic age. If we could know that Roman Catholic pacifist groups were working with intensity in their communion and if the pacifist leaders in both divisions of Christendom would consult together and plan parallel action, we might have the common-sense solution. But before accepting this conclusion there are important considerations of an opposite nature to be pondered:

First, the ideal of a Christian fellowship of reconciliation calls for a visible unity of cooperative love between all Christians and branches of the Church. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples" said Christ, "if ye have love one to another." Is it not part of the genius of the FOR that its members attempt the immediate practice of Christ's commandment of love?

Cleavage Hurts Both Groups

Second, the sharpening cleavage between the Roman Catholic and Protestant organizations, especially in Latin America, bodes ill for both. With the blasts and counterblasts that are being loosed against each other by prominent leaders and religious journals on both sides, it will be fatally easy for an ecclesiastical iron curtain to isolate us. Is not the Fellowship called upon to attempt something at this point?

Third, considering the few pacifists in South America compared to the enormous number of non-pacifists in both communions and the pressure of the governments for conscription and military projects, it is not arguable that individuals who have a conscience against war need to gain strength by knowing and encouraging each other. Should they not be in one FOR?

Fourth, the attempt of the IFOR in Europe to effect cooperation with Roman Catholics, although not succeeding to the point that we had hoped, has borne some remarkable fruit. Perhaps like the atomic scientists who produce their isotopes from a mass of fissionable material, the FOR has to screen out with much labor a little precious stuff.

Since 1921 there have been two or more Roman Catholic members on our International FOR Council, among them two utterly loyal priests: Monsignor Max Josef Metzger of Austria, who suffered martyrdom for his Christian pacifist faith in a concentration camp in the last war, and Professor Hermann Hoffmann of Breslau, who continues with unabated enthusiasm for the FOR after a fourteen-year ordeal of suffering under Hitler, the Allied bombing of Breslau, and the present ravishment of his city and countrymen by Poland. For ten years Kaspar Mayr, a Roman Catholic layman, served full time as Assistant Secretary in IFOR headquarters first in London and then in Vienna. His oldest son was killed in the war in Russia but this only deepened Kaspar's pacifism. Magda Yoors Peters headed the FOR in Belgium for a time and Wilhelm Solzbacher led a contingent of Roman Catholic youth to participate in our 1932 European Youth Crusade for Disarmament and World Peace.

Last May, in a call which my wife and I made on the abbot of a famous monastery in Rio de Janeiro, I mentioned the name of Monsignor Metzger. The abbot's face lighted up. He had not heard of Metzger's martyrdom, but remembered him as one of his teachers over twenty years ago. The abbot then spent two and a half hours in conversation with us and personally directed us all over his four hundred year old monastery. He asked me to send him some FOR literature. Are there perhaps in South America, as there were in Europe, certain individuals in the Roman Church who might be found and enlisted in unusually valuable pacifist service?

Fifth, the FOR has new opportunities in relation to Roman Catholicism. Such things as the National Conference of Christians and Jews (which includes prominent Roman Catholics) and the ecumenical movement had not been heard of when the FOR began. The pressure of Hitler and the war has led to some joint Roman Catholic and Protestant public meetings, and other forms of cooperation, that have penetrated barriers maintained since the Reformation. Latin America is a new field for the Fellowship in which we are barely started. If the Fellowship in some Latin American countries could be manned and led by Roman Catholic absolute pacifists would it not be a significant contribution to our cause throughout the world?

An F.O.R. Program

My thinking for the FOR program in church relations in Latin America boils down to two conclusions: (1) We must take and use all the Protestant openings that come. (2) We must do our utmost to influence Protestant members to follow pacifist ways in their words and actions in regard to Roman Catholic matters. Whether merited or not, the fulminations against Roman Catholic methods by prominent Protestant leaders and magazines in North America are bitterly resented by Roman Catholics in South America.

The FOR should pursue the friendly approach of Professor Edmund Stinnes of Haverford and the American Friends Service Committee, who have successfully organized committees to send relief to Europe, in hearty cooperation with Roman Catholic officials in Brazil and Argentina. I am well aware that Protestant institutions in some Latin American countries are up against a tough and unjust situation and that individual missionaries have time and again gone the second mile. But I believe we must go on doing just that. "For even hereunto were ye called . . ."

If one appraises the units rented to whites and Negroes in a community . . . one realizes that Negroes pay higher rents than whites for comparable accommodations; or in other words, they get less for their dollars. This fact is easily explained: it is, of course, *very* difficult for Negroes to live outside the borders of established Negro neighborhoods."

—*The Journal of Political Economy,* June, 1947.

No—o!

Germany—Summer 1947

By A. J. MUSTE

THE REAL AUTHOR of this article is André Trocmé, travelling secretary of FOR in Europe and pastor of the French Reformed Church of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon. Last July during the two weeks I spent in Le Chambon, André lectured one evening about his trip to Germany from which he had but recently returned. Sitting on a hard, backless bench in what used to be the shed of a farmhouse recently acquired by Collège Cévenol, I took the notes which provide the framework and much of the material of this article. At the time I did not know whether I should get a permit to visit Germany. Eventually I did and spent a week there in August. But André had spent four weeks and of course started out with a much more intimate knowledge of Germany's history and people than I have.

Hard to Be Objective

André began by drawing on the blackboard a circle with a bull's-eye in the middle. He said one cannot be objective about Germany or Russia without great pains. You shoot too low or too high, too far to left or right before locating the bull's-eye.

First, it is almost impossible for a Frenchman not to have a feeling of pride, as a victor, on entering Germany. "They got what was coming to them."

Then you go about and see that practically every large city in Germany is flat. Germany is now dusty, unclean, unkempt. Contrary to the old days, it is when you get back into France that you feel you are crossing into an orderly land. Among the occupation forces there are few who do not come to feel some pity for the Germans. You watch a Corpus Christi procession in the Ruhr. If the men and children look fairly healthy, the women who deny themselves food to make this possible, are like phantoms. Kassel, a city of a couple of hundred thousand, has one hospital, in an underground shelter. There are so many mutilated veterans that every train carries a car reserved for them. The roads are full of people wandering about trying to find some food or fuel in the country. A good many live off the black market. An American Pall Mall cigarette is worth 40 to 50 cents on that market. But peasant surpluses may be exhausted before long and then the basis for the black market will be gone. In North Germany in particular, into which eleven million Germans have been driven from Sudetenland and the Russian zone, conditions are desperate. Five or six families live in a single house.

You reflect on such things and there is danger that your pity may become too unrestrained. Germans are given to self-pity. There are unrepentant Nazis. Many Germans are still unconscious of the suffering they inflicted on the rest of the world. Not a few are convinced that the victors are deliberately and slowly killing off several million Germans: "The whole of Germany is now a concentration camp worse than Buchenwald. There people were at least killed swiftly. Here we are starved slowly to death."

There is, then, a German "problem." And so we must "re-educate" them. The Americans, said André, carry on this work of re-education with "the greatest conviction, naïveté and incompetence." The whole thing is built on the racist assumption that the Germans are inferior.

In the U.S. zone de-nazification is pursued most seriously. Recently there were still forty-five thousand suspected Nazis in concentration camps. They are not well-treated. Tribunals work so slowly that many have no hope of ever getting out. These camps are breeding grounds for future Nazis.

"Democracy" is largely a sham. Thoughtful and well-informed people told me that it would have been better if no pretense of instituting democracy had been made. At least democracy would not have gotten the bad name it now has. André told of an incident in the French zone. Huge posters announced that free elections were to be held and democracy established: everybody ought to vote. The first act of the newly elected Landtag was to ask the occupation authority, in the politest terms, to do something about the bad food conditions. Of ten newspapers in Baden, nine did not dare to print the news for fear of offending the authorities. The Socialist Party paper did print the story; the next day it was suppressed for good!

German People Nearly Impotent

Under such conditions the German people are nearly impotent. Young people for the greater part see no future for themselves or their country. Siegmund-Schultze told me that of a hundred or more young people he had interviewed recently, not one had voted in the elections. Some simply saw no use in it. Others said, "How do we know conditions won't change in a couple of years and then if we voted wrong, we'll be out of luck?"

One result of all this is that great numbers of Germans, especially youth, hope that the United States will fight Russia soon and are eager to help. There is no question that the Russians are bitterly hated. There are the eleven million evacuees. Prisoners of war, I was told on the most reliable authority, are not sent home from Russian labor camps until there is practically no muscle left on their bones. Multitudes do not return at all. Furthermore, war between Russia and America seems inevitable, so why delay it until Russia has the atomic bomb? And the Americans would of course feed German soldiers who fought for them well.

Of course many Germans know how Germany would be crushed between the two great powers and converted into an utter shambles in such a war. But desperate German youth often reply, "Well, what is *your* alternative?"

Siegmund-Schultze believes that the German

states should proclaim their complete neutrality in any future war and stick to it whether or not the powers recognize this status, and he has found some response to that suggestion in German official circles. It is, I believe, a sound idea if only because such neighbors of Germany as the Czechs and French would have a very different outlook if they were once convinced that they need not fear another German attack. It is that fear which has so much to do with their pro-Russian orientation now. Unquestionably the voluntary adoption of a war-renouncing course by Germany would have a good effect also on public opinion in the United States and might encourage a good many to advocate following this example. Having said that, we must, however, also recognize that for the Germans the step, so far as immediate political results are concerned, might be a mere gesture. The decision as to whether there would be an atomic war in which in spite of her neutrality Germany would be crushed between Russia and the United States, would still rest with these two powers.

A Bright Side, Too

Let me refer in closing to the bright side. Finally, said André Trocmé in his lecture to us at Le Chambon in France, you hit the bull's-eye about Germany and the Germans. And then this Frenchman who suffered in his own flesh and in that of his loved ones at the hands of the Nazis, began to recite a sort of modern version of Hebrews XI. He spoke of Wilhelm Mensching, our FOR chairman in Germany who never once said, "Heil Hitler." I met Wilhelm Mensching, too, a few weeks ago in his home at Petzen. A German Lutheran pastor, he is also in the noblest sense of the term a revolutionist. You look into his eyes and you know at once that he simply could not say Heil Hitler —or Heil Stalin or Heil any earthly lord. You know that you are in the presence of one of the "truly great" who wherever they go, "leave the vivid air signed with their honor." I had the same feeling when a couple of days later I met Pastor Herman Maas, another of our FOR leaders, in Heidelberg. He, who had known long years of suspicion and persecution, had just passed his seventieth birthday but he has the vitality of a man of fifty. Now the tide has turned for him. Every decent element in Heidelberg had turned out to celebrate his birthday and the ancient university had given him an honorary doctorate of theology.

But let André resume his roll-call. Karl and Eva Herrman, the former, professor of crystallography at the University of Marburg, two years in concentration camp for helping Jewish families. Herman Stoer, teacher at Stettin, refused military service; he was condemned to death, but the court was so moved by his story and his attitude, that it appealed to Hitler personally to save him. Hitler refused and Stoer was beheaded. Taber, one of the very inner circle of the Nazis, still remorseful, said that if only the matter had not gone to the Fuehrer himself, they would have saved Stoer somehow.

General von Thaden, German governor in Liége, who courageously defended the Belgian population from Nazi cruelties. After the war he was invited back to Liége and fêted by the population. General von Scholtitz, governor of Paris at the time of the liberation. He was ordered by Hitler to destroy Paris and refused. He barely escaped execution and lives in honor now in Baden-Baden. The former S.S. man in one of André's audiences who said to his former comrades, publicly: "What makes me sad is all this talk about collective guilt. I don't know such a thing. I know only personal guilt. I was a Brown Shirt. It was a mistake and a sin. Before you, I confess my guilt. What we suffer is the boomerang we threw at Europe and which has come back to us."

"The youth of Germany," said André, "who recently were still children, are not guilty; and I found them marvellous. In no country have I met youth so sympathetic and so ready to understand our message. And at this moment when they are ready we send them corporals. Can we bring them something besides kicks in the face? German youth are not yet pacifist, not because they are unable to become pacifists but because pacifism has not yet been brought to them. Such Germans were expecting the revelation of the sons of God and they are deeply disappointed that from nations they supposed more Christian than themselves there comes much the same thing as they have had in Germany.

"The present opportunity is unique. For one or two years German youth are ready to become radical religious pacifists. We must hasten to bring them a 'constructive Christian extremism.' "

I Make A Friend

My own last moments in Germany were unforgettable. The German customs official who examined my baggage was a powerfully built man with a face that was both handsome and full of integrity and gentle strength. When he saw the word "clergyman" on my passport after "occupation," he pointed to it questioningly. I happened to know the German word for pastor. His face lighted up. He looked casually and quizzically at the bag I had opened for inspection and then closed the lid, saying in German which, also, I fortunately understood: "I think you have no secrets in there"—then a pause—"not even an atom bomb." When I made clear to him as best I could the regret and shame many of us felt about the atomic bomb, he indicated that he understood. Then we looked quietly into each other's eyes and there was "Auf wiedersehn—goodbye," spoken as if we had been life-long friends. The conversation must have been overheard or word was passed along, for when I returned to the coach in which I was riding and stood leaning out of the window, waiting on that beautiful Sabbath evening for the train to move across the border into Holland, I noticed that porters and trainmen, one at a time, sauntered down the platform and each one as he came to my window glanced up for a moment and said, "It's a nice day." And so it was—a nice day.

I know that I owe it to that customs official and his children and to the German men and women on André Trocmé's roll-call to do all in my power to persuade our Fellowship and all its friends to see to it that we do send the message of pacifism and reconciliation, and not atom bombs, to the new generation of German youth.

VERA BRITTAIN'S

Cologne Letter

Fall, 1947

MY LAST LETTER WAS WRITTEN from London at the end of a bitter winter. This one comes from Cologne in the sweltering heat of a continental August. I am here for five days, half way through a month of addresses to German audiences in the British Zone for the Education Branch of the Control Commission. So far I have visited Kiel, Lübeck, Hamburg, Hanover, Bad Pyrmont, Brunswick, Düsseldorf and Aachen. Dortmund, Bochum, Münster and Berlin are still to come.

For three reasons I have chosen to write from Cologne. First, it has been for centuries a symbol of religious life and a center of culture not only for Germany but all Europe. Secondly, it was that German city which I knew and loved best before the Second World War. Thirdly, the destruction here makes the most terrible impression of all Germany's ruined cities. I am told that Berlin itself does not equal it. Even Hamburg—where several suburbs have vanished into miles of rubble, but the central section round the Binnen Alster (an inland lake) looks almost unimpaired—seems a center of life and activity compared with this once beautiful treasure-house of humanity which is now 95 percent destroyed.

Weeds and Debris

When you enter Cologne in late summer, your first impression is one of weeds—huge obscene growths, springing up amid ruins, and turning the still semi-cleared side-streets into the semblance of ill-kept country lanes. The next impression is that of dust—dust which gets into your eyes, your mouth and your shoes from the piles of debris lying everywhere. Finally you notice the macabre shapes of the ruins themselves. Most remain exactly as bombs and battle left them; the rebuilding of this city will take half a century, and in two years little impression has been made. So far only the winter gales bring down the tottering structures, sometimes adding to the city's huge but indefinite list of air raid casualties. The shattered halves of once fine houses, long looted of all their contents, stand gaping above the streets. Tall fragments of buildings, sometimes as narrow as the width of a window, point like accusing fingers at the sky.

It is impossible to find words in which to convey the impression made by acres upon acres of these grotesque remnants of a civilization. Like Arnhem, which I saw in September 1945, the city has become a grim caricature of its former self, such as one might imagine in the worst of nightmares. If the world were to end, and Earth, dead like the moon, were to be rediscovered after several centuries by men from another planet, the surviving evidences of our forgotten culture might well resemble the ruins of Cologne.

Until you get accustomed to seeing them, it is strange to find men and women queueing, cycling, and making love amid such surroundings as these. Yet somehow, somewhere, 400,000 of them are living. Certainly, with their spare frames and pinched yellow faces, most of them suggest survivors from a former existence. At the time of writing the official rations in the Rhineland are somewhere between 1300 and 1500 calories, but the amount actually received, if unsupplemented from agricultural produce or the Black Market, is more like 1000 to 1100. In spite of their hunger, and the bunkers or cellars beneath rubble in which many of them live, the populations of these destroyed cities look miraculously clean, and the much-washed summer frocks of the young women are always neatly pressed.

Within narrow limits they even have enough spirit left to seek enjoyment, such as it is. At Düren on the way to Aachen, a once prosperous city of 50,000 people now totally destroyed and rapidly disappearing into weeds, I saw a small crowd, including many children, hurrying along the cleared main road. Their destination, I soon discovered, was a traveling circus incongruously set down amid scattered stones and encroaching thistles.

Cathedral Hit 14 Times

The Cathedral survived fourteen direct hits. Though conspicuously damaged, especially at the back which is the nearest point to the adjacent railway station, it is not destroyed. The familiar silhouette remains unchanged, a landmark for miles. One bomb shattered the great West window, stonework and all; the stained glass was fortunately part of the one-third which had been removed and is saved. Another bomb came through the roof and demolished the beautiful organ. Inside the building are acres of steel scaffolding amounting to thirty tons. All over the floor lie heaps of rubble, large fragments of ornamental ironwork, and piles of melted lead from the roof, which until you touch them resemble discarded black waterproof sheeting. Many builders are hard at work trying to get the oldest section of the structure (which was begun in 1248) ready for the seventh centenary celebrations next year. Hard-pressed officials describe the Cathedral as a "vampire" which absorbs materials sorely needed for houses and schools.

As a wartime opponent of obliteration bombing, I have been sorrowfully interested in observing its effects at first-hand. Nothing I have seen in any German city has caused me to reverse the judgments expressed in *Massacre by Bombing.*

To the German inhabitants of the cities, massacre bombing has meant a series of terrible memories whose consequences, hidden beneath their now habitual reticence, are psychologically incalculable. Each great city, and especially Cologne, still has railed-off areas where the dead lie unburied. The large church of St. Peter, which received a direct hit, collapsed on top of 7,000 people sheltering in the cellars beneath. When I asked what happened to them, my German driver shrugged his shoulders. In

Hamburg, I was told, the S.S. went round after raids, shooting the injured and dying, and flinging their bodies by hundreds into the Alster. In Cologne the rats from the Rhine, gruesome symbols of the breakdown of civilization, have long consumed the flesh of the corpses. Ten, twenty, thirty years hence, their skeletons will gradually be uncovered.

Other bodies of men and women, trapped in narrow burning streets blocked by rubble, shrivelled to the size of dolls whose sex could not be ascertained. They are gone, mingled with the dust of the city. But the survivors' memories of noise and fire, death and decomposition, hunger and desperation, will only die with the tragic generation of which they are part. The unimpaired sections of civilization owe them, as suffering human beings, all the material help that can be gathered to lift them from the abysmal depths of grief and despair.

. . . and a Postscript

From the ruins of Cologne on this thirty-third anniversary of the First World War, I want to make a special appeal to Catholic readers of FELLOWSHIP to help the Catholic theological students living in the Vogelsang Bunkers without natural light or outside ventilation. These eighty students include men and women, many of the latter being young war widows. They have no rations in addition to the nominal 1500 calories (actually about 1100) which come to the Rhineland population.

A few CARE packages would help them enormously, and especially the Bunker leader, Heinrich Seise, who should be sent an earmarked parcel if he is not to give it all away.

Student Seise is about thirty, very tall and thin, with flushed cheeks like a T.B. patient. Though a keen Catholic and student of theology, he was called up when the war began, wounded and discharged. Knowing the S.S. were after him, he lived in hiding, as he was anti-Nazi and did not want to fight in Hitler's war. But the S.S. discovered him. He was not fit to serve in the army, so they sent him as a stretcher bearer to Holland, where he was involved in the Battle of Arnhem.

Close to the bridge he was wounded by a shell which sent splinters into his head and chest. One splinter in his skull causes great pain for which he has injections, but the trouble in his chest is worse. His lungs were so badly impaired that they had to be deflated; he has to go weekly to the hospital to have them filled with oxygen. Owing to the splinters still in his chest and the condition of his lungs, he cannot bend. In his Bunker cell, he has one bed erected on the top of another so that he can lie down without bending. One shelf of German theological literature presented to him by an old pastor represents his sole library, as all his books were destroyed in raids. Like many Germans living in these former air-raid shelters, he had a vase of flowers on his only cupboard.

In spite of his handicaps, Heinrich Seise gets no extra food ration. An underground invalid, he is struggling to become a priest. The care of the students adds to his responsibilities and he was probably appointed because, as an invalid, he can persuade them to respect his wishes. Food parcels, whether for him personally or for the students as a whole, should be sent to Heinrich Seise, Bunker Vogelsang, Pedagogische Accademie, Bickendorf, Cologne, Germany (British Zone.) If a Catholic training-college or school would "adopt" this group of students, they would be doing a deed of real value.

VERA BRITTAIN

Purge in Cambodia

WALLACE HAMILTON

ON THE LAST NIGHT OF THE YEAR the palace of the Kings of Cambodia is purged of devils. Men painted as fiends are chased by elephants about the palace courts. When they have been expelled, a consecrated thread of cotton is stretched around the palace to keep them out."*

A most common festival, this expulsion of evil. In Central Australia the medicine men of the Dieri tribe beat the ground with the stuffed tails of kangaroos. The Bhotiyas of Juhar intoxicate a dog with bhang and chase it out of town with sticks and stones. In America, Congress investigates.

And so there shall be an expiation of sin, and the people shall be cleansed of their uncleanness. Did the citizen cheat a little during the late war? Did he perhaps take a transcontinental motor trip that wasn't strictly necessary? Did his good wife glut her kitchen shelves with black market sugar? Did the patriot manufacturer (100 percent war work) do a little fast figuring on a cost-plus basis? No matter. Small sins they were, surely. And they shall be borne by a bag-bellied old Congressman who took bribes from nefarious characters.

He shall be put in jail and the people shall be cleansed.

Is the citizen uneasy? The war was bitter, but it held great promise. There would be peace. For that sweet promise the citizen shrugged when cities shuddered and withered in fire. For promise he watched the big deals made by world carvers, and nodded unhappy assent. For promise . . . Hiroshima.

As the war was bitter, the promise turned bitter, too. Fear piled on fear. Hunger piled on hunger. Evil upon evil. And the evil shall be borne by shrill little Communists who have turned the promise bitter, ferreted their ways into the corridors of government and are responsible for the ills that torment us.

They shall be taken from their jobs and if possible put in jail. Verily, they shall be chased by elephants that the palace may be safe. Verily, we shall gird the palace round with a cotton thread of law.

As Congress goes about its task of cleansing us and purging the palace courtyards, let us pause for a moment in fellowship with our ancestors who invented so useful a ceremony.

"The notion that we can transfer our guilt and sufferings to some other being who will bear them for us is familiar to the savage mind. . . . The result is an endless number of very unamiable devices for palming off on someone else the trouble which a man shrinks from bearing himself."*

* Quotations are from *The Golden Bough* by J. G. Frazer. Macmillan, 1922.

National Conference Draws 300 Registrants

Widely hailed by its 300 registrants as one of the most successful such events in FOR history, this year's National Conference concluded August 31 with a Sunday morning worship service after six days of concentration on the place of the Fellowship in the present world crisis. Contributing to the satisfaction expressed by most of those in attendance were the informality and sense of community made possible by the locale of the conference at the Methodist camp-meeting grounds at Lancaster, Ohio, as well as a program that laid more emphasis on small-group discussions than heretofore.

Town Hall Forum

The conference opened with registration Tuesday afternoon (August 26), followed by a "town hall forum" on the subject: "The Direction the American Peace Movement Should Take in the Next Two to Five Years." Participants were Caleb Foote, former FOR Northern California secretary and ex-prison CO; Harrop Freeman, acting dean of the Cornell Law School; Samuel Marble, president of Wilmington College and ex-CPS; Milton Mayer, professor of English at the University of Chicago and widely known writer and speaker; and Marianna Nugent, a member of the FOR National Council.

A considerable diversity of opinion existed among the speakers, with suggestions ranging from support of the United Nations to the deliberate development of a personal and group program of preparation for the "probable" atomic war of the future and its chaotic aftermath.

Harrop Freeman, who is also director of the Pacifist Research Bureau, urged a program of "long-term" research, so that pacifists might have a specific program to propose when existing political and economic systems prove ineffective.

Milton Mayer, announcing that he was "bored" by all speakers on peace, including himself, pleaded for active defiance of "the decrees of Caesar" and resistance to the growth of the war-making state by a refusal to pay federal income taxes. Considerable discussion develped on this proposal, and led to a resolution on the subject later in the conference.

Cell Groups Organized

Wednesday morning saw the assignment of all registrants to twelve "cell groups." These met separately each morning for three days, discussing successively the place of worship and religious emphasis in the FOR, the national program of the organization, and the kind of programs desirable for local Fellowship groups. The concluding hour each morning was devoted to brief reports from national and regional staff members.

Afternoons were given over to seminars, from 1:45 to 3:00 o'clock, and to recreation after that. Seminars covered a variety of subjects, including disarmament, Russia, world government, economics and peace, pacifism in the home, publicity techniques, political action, and work with labor, racial groups, and the churches. Interest was keen in most seminars, and several ran well over their allotted time into the recreation period.

Wednesday evening brought reports on Latin America and Europe, by John Nevin Sayre and A. J. Muste respectively. (The substance of these reports will be found in articles appearing elsewhere in this issue.)

"Common Front" Discussed

The possibility of a "common front" against war and reaction, discussed Thursday evening by representatives of labor, education, farm groups, and cooperatives, seemed to this reporter the least satisfying of the week's programs, since each speaker seemed more concerned with pleading the cause of his own group and soliciting support for it than with a genuine program that would enlist mutual support. Participating in this discussion were A. J. Brumbaugh, of the American Council on Education; Joseph W. Fichter, national chaplain of the Grange; Don Kramer, of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation's research staff; and Orval Jones, in charge of workers' education for the CIO in Ohio.

Conference Statistics

(This report had to be drawn up before all data were received; the following figures, therefore, are approximate.—Ed.)

Total registration	300
Offering and pledges to the general FOR budget	$750
Sunday offering to War Victims Fund and IFOR	$125
Sale of literature	$500

One of the most interesting—and exasperating—features of the conference occurred Friday evening in a semi-debate on the validity of the pacifist position, by Dr. Arnold Nash, professor of Church History at McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, and Dean Walter Muelder of the Boston University School of Theology.

Dr. Nash, a fluent and outspoken nonpacifist, pulled no punches in attacking the theology and ethics of pacifism. Arguing that pacifism presumes the possibility of an absolute judgment, he denied that such a possibility exists. He charged pacifists, in effect, with hypocrisy in claiming to "love their neighbors as themselves" when it comes to the waging of war but in failing to implement such a conviction in such matters as, for example, the actual sharing of material possessions with the impoverished Germans in this postwar period. He accused pacifists also of a sense of moral superiority, while confessing to a feeling of intellectual superiority on the part of nonpacifists—presumably theologians.

Avoided Main Issue

While many of those in the audience confessed to a "conviction of sin" when Dr. Nash spoke caustically of sending one's oldest suit to Germany instead of one's best, there was nevertheless an exasperated feeling that the speaker did not come to grips with the subject, which was "The Church and Atomic War in the Light of the Christian Faith," or with the issues posed by Dean Muelder. The latter described pacifism as a "practical absolute," and asserted the need for such judgments even while admitting the impossibility of attaining to the complete ideal of perfection set up as the ultimate goal.

The failure of Dr. Nash to take up this challenge and assert his position on the actual waging of atomic or biological war by Christians resulted in a one-sided discussion period, in which most of the questions from the floor were attempts to pin Dr. Nash down at this point. A. J. Muste, who presided, confined himself to the strict impartiality of a chairman in the face of an obviously rising blood pressure until the very end of the program, when the temptation to inject an observation became too great to bear. At that point he observed that the Church's tolerance of increasingly diabolic methods of destruction from war to war seemed to lead to the conclusion that there is an absolute: the absolute refusal to draw a line at any point.

Vegetables Have Hearing

Two speakers shared the program

Saturday night. Professor Henry Stevens, of the University of New Hampshire, presented a plea for vegetarianism. His argument, which seemed more persuasive to his largely carnivorous audience than the usual vegetarian thesis, presented the unique theory that man's ancestors, the primates, were completely vegetarian, and that early man, with the exception of a few tribes trapped in northern Eurasia by the Ice Age and forced to kill animals for their very existence, followed this pattern of living until relatively recent years.

The stone axe and spear, usually thought of as weapons, asserted Professor Stevens, actually were more likely tools for the cultivation of the soil. Only when the animal husbandry of the north overran the garden economy of the south, about 8,000 years ago, did man generally turn to the domestication, breeding, and slaughter of animals for subsistence, according to the speaker. With this "bloody business" came a turn also, he claimed, from a non-warlike culture to a warlike one.

Ex-Junker Sways Audience

The second speaker Saturday evening captured his audience completely. He was Fritz von Unruh, author of the recently published *The End Is Not Yet* and several plays, and former Prussian Junker and officer in the German Imperial Army.

Mr. von Unruh, who is a pacifist, told of his early life as the son of a German general, his conventional cadet training, his doubts about the religious justification of war and his subsequent resignation of his commission. He recounted how the outbreak of World War I led him to enlist again, and of how he was brought finally to the pacifist position in actual battle, during which he was badly wounded.

He described the postwar attempts to mobilize the peace sentiment rife among the soldiers, the failure of democratic forces elsewhere to help them resist the growth of nazism, and the final dramatic mass protest against Hitler in the Sportspalast in Berlin, in 1932, when he defied threats against his life to speak to an overflow crowd of more than 20,000. His final plea for an individual reconsecration to pacifism was a stirring one, and brought the audience to its feet in tribute at its conclusion.

Saturday morning and a portion of the afternoon were given over to the discussion and adoption of resolutions, which are summarized elsewhere on this page. The principal discussion came over a request, by some members of the employed staff, that the FOR cease withholding federal income taxes. They asserted such withholding hampered in the implementation of their convictions persons who are conscientiously opposed to paying such taxes.

The concluding session Sunday morning was an address by Harold Fey, managing editor of the *Christian Century* and former national secretary of the FOR, who spoke on The Vocation of a Christian.

Conference Resolutions

(The following is a summary of the resolutions adopted at the National Conference. The full text is available on request.)

1. *Deplored attitude of "inevitable war with Russia"; urged abandonment by U. S. of atomic and biological weapons, and adoption of a reconciliatory attitude toward Russia.*

2. *Called for national and international disarmament and support of UN activities not based on violence.*

3. *Asked for universal abolition of conscription, continued opposition to UMT in this country, and refusal by FOR members to cooperate in any way if UMT is adopted.*

4. *Urged amnesty for all Selective Service violators; protested against the continued imprisonment of hunger-striking Tom Leonard and asked for his immediate release.*

5. *Recommended a committee to study ways of extricating FOR from position of withholding income taxes of its members, and pledged support to individuals who conscientiously withhold income-tax payments.*

6. *Expressed concern over the political positions and activities of both major parties; recommended creation of Political Education Committee; gave an approving nod, with reservations, to possible "third party."*

7. *Urged increased work with farm and labor groups.*

8. *Ditto for "kindred groups," including specifically the Catholic Worker organizations throughout the country.*

9. *Supported preparation of "world ecumenical pacifist statement."*

10. *Recognized "universality of pacifism," and that "not all pacifist truth is to be found only in the Judeo-Christian tradition."*

11. *Asked more study, including a pamphlet, on pacifism in the home.*

12. *Called for transfer of German occupation from military to civilian authority.*

13. *Called on FOR members for sacrificial sharing, especially through FOR War Victims Fund and Gift Parcels Program.*

14. *Reasserted pacifist position and called on U. S. to oppose total war with total pacifism.*

Lancaster Sidelights

Accommodations at Lancaster were better than anticipated. Cottages were crowded but comfortable; plumbing primitive but adequate; meals good; cost low; weather perfect.

* * *

Afternoon recreation periods found some in swimming pool, some resting, surprising number in special meetings, overtime seminars, or old-fashioned bull sessions. Most popular recreation was folk-dancing "on the green" after evening sessions.

* * *

Large proportion of young people, many of whom, hitched-hiked both ways, helped give meetings a lift.

* * *

Many delegates looked pale when they found chicken on their plates the day after Henry Stevens' pro-vegetarianism speech. Qualms were sternly suppressed, however, and most did their duty thoroughly.

* * *

An ad hoc choir and some accomplished instrumentalists filled the air with most acceptable music. Conference took Race Relations group's new song, "You Don't Have to Ride Jim Crow," to its collective heart. (Words will appear in the next issue of FELLOWSHIP.)

* * *

And some of the camp-meeting staff said it was the nicest group of the summer.

Advertisements

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— — —

FOR member, printer, editor, musician, college-seminary graduate, long teacher in China, just returned to USA, wants furlough job and chance for two children to finish high school. Address R. P. Montgomery, c/o Mrs. Mary L. Weber, 2557 Wakefield Ave., Oakland 6, Calif.

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Anti-Jim Crow Group Arrested Four Times

Demonstrating for the fourth time against anti-Negro discrimination at the Palisades Amusement Park across the river from New York City, 28 members of the Congress of Racial Equality and the New Jersey CIO Anti-Discrimination Committee were arrested there on August 31. Demonstrators had been arrested on three previous occasions, and on August 15 six of the Negroes and four of the white group filed suit for damages totaling $270,000. On the latest occasion 20 picketers were put on a bus for New York by police, and when they returned and took up the demonstration they were arrested. Later on all but four were released on bail and returned to Manhattan, where they resumed picketing, with reinforcements, at the ferry which carries merrymakers to the Park. New York City police arrested nine of them, including six who had previously been arrested in New Jersey.

Drought Worsens Food Situation in Europe

Europe's worst drought in decades, withering grain and potato crops and leaving animals gaunt with hunger and thirst, promises famine for the coming winter. Germany, Denmark, Austria, France, are hopelessly estimating their losses, slaughtering cattle that can no longer be fed. Sir John Boyd Orr, director general of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization, warned recently that there is danger of drifting into another war in a futile attempt to solve economic problems. "Continued hunger tends to reduce people to the animal level," he warned, and added that it blunts the conscience of people who suffer it, especially over such a long period of time.

NSB Urges Better CO Status Under UMT

COs will be better off in the next war, if the National Service Board for COs has anything to say about it. Three amendments to the bill for Universal Military Training which the Board submitted have been incorporated in HR 4278, which was reported out of committee on July 25, just before Congress adjourned. The amendments include a broadened definition of a conscientious objector, specified private as well as public agencies to handle the training of COs, and pay, dependency allowances, and compensation and burial payments for COs equal to those received by military trainees.

Jottings

The arrest and conviction of eight members of the Committee for a Non-Violent Revolution for picketing a United Nations reception has been declared "unreasonable and a violation of [their] rights" by the Court of Special Sessions in New York. On March 25, 1946, police broke up picketing and leaflet distribution and obtained the conviction of the demonstrators on charges of obstructing traffic and refusing to move on. The higher court reversed the decision and ordered fines paid back to the demonstrators.

* * *

The powerful American Legion, at its annual convention in August, decided to continue to push Universal Military Training, beginning a new campaign of films, speeches and articles immediately. The Legion enacted anti-communist and pro-preparedness resolutions, and most of its speakers, including Generals Eisenhower and Spaatz, Admiral Nimitz, and NY Governor Dewey, called for UMT and stronger defense measures.

* * *

Refusal to serve in the Dutch army during the present Dutch conflict in the East Indies has been announced by 93 young Dutch Mennonites of draft age. They indicated they would do civilian work if drafted, but not military service.

* * *

The Committee on Educational Aid for COs, which has helped over sixty men in the past year, reports that a number have reapplied for aid this year, particularly those in medical school, and that a surprising number of new applications have come in. COs get no government help toward their education, and the investment of the peace movement in these men will certainly pay big dividends in the future. They shave their budgets close, and a $5 or $10 contribution means a lot. Send to the Committee's office at 252 Fulton Street, Brooklyn 1, New York.

* * *

The Los Angeles office of the FOR and members in that city are starting a cooperative theatre called The Lantern Players, opening October 17. Although emphasis will be on original plays dealing with social issues, particularly the problem of war and peace, plays by professional playwrights which seem especially appropriate will also be used. The first production will be Maxwell Anderson's "Wingless Victory," which portrays with unusual insight the difficulties of a marriage between a white man and a South Pacific girl.

* * *

An appeal to the United Nations signed by 429 persons including Aldous Huxley, Pearl Buck, Arthur Garfield Hays, and many other prominent educators, writers, and churchmen, was made on August 29 urging that the proposed International Bill of Rights include an article recognizing the right of conscientious objection to military service, as urged by the War Resisters International. The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters League in this country, as well as sections of the War Resisters International in other countries have written or will write the UN in support of this petition.

* * *

An extremely useful and effective way of raising money for European and Asiastic relief has been worked out by M. Imogene Sanborn, 2545 Valentine Avenue, New York 58, New York. The sale of handiwork donated for the purpose brings in funds which go for badly needed relief to the Foreign Section of the AFSC. If you knit, sew, crochet, paint or work in leather, give one of the products of your hands to the sale. If you are not a handicraftsman any gift which can be sold will be gratefully received by Miss Sanborn.

* * *

A World Congress of Religion in Support of the UN will be held in Boston, Mass., October 23-27, 1948. Delegates from eleven of the world's great religions will travel to Boston at that time to consider how religion in all nations can become concerted action to strengthen the UN and its efforts to establish a peaceful, friendly world.

* * *

The Ohio State FOR Conference will be held Saturday, November 1, in the Second Baptist Church, 186 N. 17th Street, Columbus, Ohio. A. J. Muste will speak.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th Street, Seattle 5, Wash.; *Northern California:* Orval Etter, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 310, 127 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.

The Peacemakers' Bookshelf

Gandhi and His Helpers

They Saw Gandhi, by John S. Hoyland. Fellowship, 1947. 102 pp. $1.75.

American Christianity is often guilty of being a religion of unrealized principles. We know about loving enemies, turning the other cheek and returning good for evil. We know these, for the most part, as theory, not as practice; they are remote concepts, easily dismissed as idealistic and utopian.

Mahatma Gandhi, on the other hand, has been living a religion which is difficult to define but which is remarkably clarified in its practical application. *Satyagraha* as a word, for instance, is not easy to explain. Soulforce, the force which is born of truth and love, the non-violent force of love, these and a good many other words are used to describe it. In India, however, it is an active living thing, both for Gandhi himself and for his followers. When one asks about *Satyagraha,* the Indian does not attempt to define it, he merely tells about its use in the salt-tax struggle, in civil disobedience campaigns, and in the communal disturbances. Above all, he reminds the Westerner that Indian independence is the crowning achievement of its application.

Now John S. Hoyland, understanding interpreter of the best in Indian life, has put together a series of sketches which tell through the words of his contemporaries what Gandhi's principles mean in actual living. Through imaginary characters such as a railroad guard, a miner, a small farmer, an untouchable, a millhand, a peasant, a college student, a Brahmin priest, a high school student and a young factory worker, Mr. Hoyland shows the power of Gandhi's ideas as they are demonstrated in the crisis moments described by these figures.

In the final chapter, Dr. Hoyland speaks for himself as the author of the book and as a missionary to India in discussing the religion of Gandhi. The *Satyagrahis* must subject themselves to rigorous religious disciplines, to labor, to the continuous battle against evil and to the service of truth. Above all, Gandhi insists that the active *Satyagrahi* must take up his cross and identify himself completely with suffering humanity.

This book, then, gives a picture of Gandhi through the eyes of his followers. But most of all it gives a series of graphic pictures of the life-theories of Gandhi as instruments in effective living in India. This is the most authentic picture of the Mahatma that one can get. For his shrunken body and his little head are not the best outward evidences of the spirit that has been responsible for moving a great subcontinent toward freedom. Gandhi's picture is his life and his life is his message. In this little book we get glimpses of what makes the life the message. It is the message through a Hindu that Christlikeness is possible in the contemporary world.

HAROLD EHRENSPERGER

Search for Moral Order

Last Reprieve, by Edwin McNeill Poteat, Harpers, 1946. 105 pp. $1.00.

Dr. Poteat adds this small book to the spate cast up by the atom bomb. Brilliant in insight and expression, it will be widely read and commented upon. Yet the author is undoubtedly right in expecting his fantastic proposal to meet with frank dissent.

The analysis of the situation is made from the viewpoint of the higher hedonism. It is in terms of man's failure in his quest for happiness and his misuse of power. The early chapters lead through many fine insights to the discovery of man's ultimate dependence upon the moral order.

Then comes the proposal. Modern man, the author says, has cultivated a respect for scientific pragmatism. He has come to deny or defy all authority except the authority of the fact, and by facts he means the obvious things with which the senses or science can deal. Rightly, Dr. Poteat points to the ultimate fact upon which man is dependent. Mistakenly he commits the discovery of the moral order to a conference of "historian, anthropologist, sociologist, endocrinologist, psychiatrist, psychologist and physicist" who are to be promised protection from the philosopher and theologian.

The main offense of this proposal is in the attempted application of means suitable to one aspect of truth, to another aspect in which it is worse than impotent. Aristotle, the first modern, insisted as strongly on moral means for moral truth as he did on scientific means for scientific truth.

One can hardly imagine such a conference agreeing on anything. Yet, if by some unforeseen felicity of minds they should arrive at their assigned goal, the ultimate fact of the moral order, they would, in the process, have become the very philosophers, theologians, and moralists which Dr. Poteat chooses to exclude from the proceedings.

What, indeed, would come of such a conference? The author himself answers, "Worse than nothing: that's a reasonable guess." He does not entertain the probability that the "Great Fact" has long since been discovered or revealed. Etienne Gilson was nearer the spiritual need of man when he said, "Truth is not so hard to discover. The hard thing is in accepting it."

GEORGE M. GIBSON

Looking Backwards—CPS

Down in My Heart, by William E. Stafford. Brethren Publishing House, 1947, 95 pp. $1.00.

CPS, that shoddy remembrance, now becomes legend. Men have started writing books about it. First to be published is William E. Stafford's *Down in My Heart,* "a series of incidents, purposedly planned to give the texture" of conscripted lives, incidents drawn out of the author's experience in Brethren-administered CPS camps in Arkansas and California. Two of the sketches have already appeared in FELLOWSHIP.

There it all is—remembrance in cold print—the forest fires, and project men, the dorms and kitchens and libraries, the isolation and "the fur sound of winter." There's the petty fuss about cooking, complete with typed statements, meditation periods, and high principle. "To continue as cook I'll have to have two more stew pans and a cleaver."

In a description of a CO wedding in camp, Stafford describes that aching grope, always frustrated, toward some shred of normal life, be it ever so incongruously middle-class. "Darl and Al started to play I Love You Truly—a violin duet—on the porch of the music room." There's the story of a fracas with the citizenry of an Arkansas town, a notably clean chunk of writing. "Our project superintendent had warned us against saying 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.' to Negroes."

Reading the sketches makes one wish that Stafford had allowed himself more room to rummage through motivations, polish up his characterizations, and develop the provocative framework in which the incidents are told. But within the limits of space and structure, he has done a solid, workmanlike job with a good ring to it.

WALLACE HAMILTON

Fellowship ought to be in your church, public, and school libraries. Is it?

Important New Books

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Fritz von Unruh's startling new novel of conflict between pacifism and the Nazis.

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John L. Beckley. Cartoons and text, engagingly done and surprisingly pacifist.

THEY SAW GANDHI 1.75
John S. Hoyland's book comes as Gandhi again makes history with satyagraha. Introduction by John Haynes Holmes.

AFFIRMATION OF IMMORTALITY 1.50
The Harvard Ingersoll Lecture for 1946 by John Haynes Holmes, well-known minister and FELLOWSHIP writer.

ROAD TO PEACE .50
The Pacifist Research Bureau's newest study, on international functional organizations.

GOD'S BOYCOTT OF SIN paper, 1.25
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Rachel King's restatement of the doctrine of hell, and of how it led the author to pacifism.

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A New Book of Meditations by
PHILIPPE VERNIER

Translated by EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE

$1.50

Building the Cell

Pacifist leaders at Pendle Hill urged the building of cell groups for the spiritual strengthening of the pacifist movement. Here are some of the books and pamphlets that will help in these activities.

CELLS FOR PEACE .10
Douglas Steere's new revision of "The Peace Team."

CHRISTIAN PERFECTION 1.75
The writings of Francois Fenelon (1651-1715), translated by Mildred W. Stillman.

TRAINING FOR THE LIFE OF THE SPIRIT, Nos. 1 and 2, each .25
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Brother Lawrence. An enduring classic.

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Write for a free copy of the new
"Reading List for the Life of Prayer."

THE CASE OF THE CURIOUS EDITOR

Editors lead strange lives. Surrounded by manuscripts, type books, and imploring writers, they sometimes get ridden with curiosity, wondering if anyone really reads the magazine they send out, more or less regularly, every month. Do the two letters about an article last month mean that thousands of readers were enthusiastic about it, or that two were? When an indignant subscriber cancels a subscription, does it mean the loss of one reader—or are hundreds now using the magazine only to swat flies?

Will you help assuage our curiosity? Right now we'd like to know how you react to FELLOWSHIP'S monthly features, as listed below. All you need do is check the proper spaces, tear off this coupon, and mail to Fellowship, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y. Will you do that? (And, of course, any other comments you'd like to make about the magazine will be gratefully received as well.)

	John Haynes Holmes	Subheads	Muste "On the Other Hand"	Wallace Hamilton	Book Reviews	Pro and Con
LIKE	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
DON'T LIKE	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____